THE SECESSION MOVEMENT.

Herschell V. Johnson on the Crisis.

AMOS KENDALL ON SECRSSION

A SOUTHERN SERMON

LETTER FROM HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON Gov. Herschel V. Johnson, having been invited ofdress the citizens of Georgia upon the state of the courty, answered the invitation by the following

MILLEDGEVILLE, Nov. 16, 1860.

GENTLEMEN: I am in receipt of your note of yester-day requesting me to deliver an address upon the aperilous issue now upon the country." After mature reflection, I decline to comply with your request. Screral able speeches have been made, during the week, on both sides, and I could not hope to add a single ray to the flood of light which has been poured upon the great questions which are now before the Legislature and engage the minds of the people. As a substitute for a speech, I effer you the following brief expression of my views: MILLEDGEVILLE, Nov. 16, 1860.

Legislature and engage the minds of the people. As a substitute for a speech, I effer you the following brief expression of my views:

Nucleo as I deplore the election of Lincoln, it is an event which I confidently expected, from the moment of the disruption of the Charleston Convention. It requires all the energies of a united Democracy to elect a President; with a divided Democracy it is impossible. To that schism therefore, must be ascribed our defeat. If the Convention had harmoniously nominated any distinguished Democrat, either North or South, upon the Cincinnati platform, with the Dred Scott decision, I believe he would have been elected. But in the election of General Pierce and Mr. Buchanan, the principle of con-intervention was triumphantly maintained. The departure from that, and the attempt to engraft the doctrine of Congressional intervention, in favor of Slavery in the Territories, were fatal to our cause and gave the battle to the Republicans. I say this much as gave the battle to the Kepublicans. I say this much as a frank and honest expression of my opinion, without intending to attach blame to any body; without intend a trank and honest expression of my opinion, without intending to attach blame to any body; without intending to question the patriotism of anybody; without even intending to express an opinion as to who was right and who was wrong. That one side or the other was wrong is self-evident; for both could not be right. We are, therefore, indebted to an error in our own, for our signal defeat—it elected Lincoln. Hence, as we are not entirely blameless, it behooves us to temper our exasperation by calm reflections and prudent coursels. Hasty action is always unwise; it is superlative folly when prompted by passion for which our own indiscretion has created the existing occasion.

But "let the dead bury the dead." Let the conflict through which we have just passed, with all its acerbity and rancor, be consigned to oblivion, and animated with a patriotic desire to rescue our country from impending dangers, let us take counsel with each other, as friends and fellow-citizens whose political interests and destiny are one.

and destiny are one.

I do not think the election of Lincoln a sufficien I do not think the election of Lincoln a sufficient cause for secession. No man deprecates it more that I do. None is more implacably notifie to the swowed principles and policy of the Republican party. I trust I am second to no one in an intelligent devotion to the rights and honor of the South. But he is legitimately elected—elected in strict accordance with the Constitution, and therefore, being sticklers curselves for conformity on the part of others to the Constitution, let us practice our precept by observing it on our part. If he obey the Constitution in his administration, we shall have suffered no injury by his election; if he violate it by aggressing upon our rights, we will resist it. late it by aggressing upon our rights, we will resist it and the justice of that resistance will rally the unite hearts and hands of all true patriots. But it is contended by many that we must anticipat

aggression—assume that it will come, and second from the Union immediately to avoid it. I do not ap prove of such a course. But, anticipating that it may come, prudence suggests that we begin at once to pre

I believe, however, that, under the existing circum I believe, however, that, under the existing circum stances, it cannot come. The President is powerless without the concurrence of both houses of Congress But both are known to be opposed to the Federal principles and policy of the Republican party. How is possible then for Lincoln to commit any aggression apport the South? He cannot organize his administration except by the approval of the Senate; no mean the advanced without the action of Congress the care be adopted without the action of Congress. He can do nothing of himself. He is at the mercy of Congress subject really to its dictation—as powerless as Samson shorn of his locks. Therefore, when it is acked, will you submit to the rule of Lincoln ! I reply asked, will you submit to the rule of Lincoln? I reply
no: I am not under his rule, but under the rule of the
Government, whose legislative department is known to
be friendly to the constitutional rights of the South
He is the one who is under rule—bound hand and foot bid him defiance, while thus bound; but if the con plexica of Congress shall change to that of hostility to my section, knock off his fetters, and violate ou rights, I will defy them all; and if I cannot obtain re-

rights, I will defy them all; and if I cannot obtain re-dress in the Union, then, trusting to the reserved sov-ereignty of the State, I will strike for separate inde-pendence out of the Union.

The South has grievances of which to complain far more galling than the bare election of a Republican to the Presidency. The sorrender of fugitive claves is a constitutional obligation upon every State in the Union. Without such a guaranty the Union would never have been formed. It cannot long survive its continued and been formed. It cannot long survive its continued and persistent disregard by the non-slaveholding States. Pasonsly with the Abolition agitation. It has "grow with its growth, and strengthened with its strength, and in own, in defiance of Federal enactments, a mi jority of those States have passed stringent laws to obstruct the recovery of fugitive slaves. True, the costruct the recovery of lugitive staves. Frue, the cotton States have not suffered very considerably on this score; the evil necessarily falls mainly upon the border States. But all the slaveholding States have felt, and do now keenly feel, this inhighty of their Northern sisters to their plain constitutional obligation They have said but little, however; they have submit

They have said but little, nowever; they have submitted to it, almost without complaint. Amid the almost
unnixed evil, which I spprehend from the election of
Lincoln, I see one good result, and that is, the awakening of the South to these great grievances. They
ought not to be permanently submitted to; but promptly redressed, upon the united demand of the South.
Let the appeal be made to the delinquent States.

Having presented these general views, I will
venture a few suggestions as to the best course
to be pursued. In justice to myself I must
refer briefly to my position in 1850, when we
were somewhat similarly excited. It is well
known that I opposed the compromise measures,
and I
set of would do now, under similar circumstances, and I
set would do now, under similar circumstances, and I as I would do now, under similar circumstances, and I am not conscious of any material change in the views which I entertained touching the great questions involved in that contest. I was denounced then as a diamionist; and because I am not a disunionist now, I am charged with inconsistency and the abandonnent of my Southern Rights principles. From all that has been said recently, the country doubtless believes that I was an active participant in the contest of 1850—in I was an active participant in the contest of 1850—in its fiery debates and the extreme views entertained by many of the leaders of the Scattern Rights party. The truth is, I did not make a single speech during the contest, excepting a few remarks, not occupying ten minutes, in a meeting in Balawim County, in which I then resided. I was on the bench of the Ocmulgee Circuit. I wrote but one letter, after the opening of the canvass for delegates to the Convention, and that were after the election. I appeal to that for the eviwas after the election. I appeal to that for the evi-dence that I was not for secession then, and that I stood then, in reference to the action of the State, pre-cisely where this communication will show that I stand

The letter alluded to was written on the 5th of Nov. ington County, who asked my "opinion with reference to the policy to be pursued by our State," in the then emergency. After briefly reviewing the compro-

mise measures, I said:
"What then is the proper line of policy for Georgia in the present emergency?

O'The wrongs of which we complain are not pecu-

har to Georgia, but common to all the slaveholding States. Hence, in any action which our State may adopt, she should regard herself only as an integra

adopt, she should regard nerself only in reference to part of the South, and should act only in reference to the concurrence and cooperation of the shaveholding States. The interests of Shavery and those of cotton, rice and sugar are identical, and must share the same fate, and, therefore, at least the States engaged in those products should be united in measures of redress or future security. Hence, I have never favored the Policy of separate State secession—not that I question the right, but because I do not regard it an effectual sensety for past wrongs or a potent safeguard against future aggressions.

"Indeed, I am frank to say that I would not dis-

"Indeed, I am frank to say that I would not dissolve this Union, by secession or otherwise, for what has siready been done if any assurance can be obtained from the North that they will cause their aggressions, and permit us to remain quietly in the Union. Our time of policy then, in my poor judgment, is to adopt such measures as will prevent all future encroachments upon our rights. To render these effectual, they must need the approval and cooperation of those States

which grow cotton, rice and sugar.

These are my opinions now, so far as they are applicable to the existing circumstances. I am opposed to dissolution now, by secession or otherwise, and for reasons similar to those which controlled my opinion

The course which I then suggested for the State Con-Vention was contained in the following propositions:

2. I would have our Convention record the un ong protest of Georgia against the late acts of ber unafterable determination never to yield anothe inch of ground to Northern encroachments.

3. Let the Convention demand of Congress the repeal of the Mexican laws in Utah and New-Mexico.

peal of the Mexican laws in Utah and New-Mexico, against Slavery, so as to open the door of safe emigration thinker by the slaveholders of the South.

4. The Convention should demand of the Northern States as a matter of loyalty to the Constitution, the repeal of those legislative acts obstructing the recapture of fugitive slaves, to the end that the recent statute of Congress may be executed in good faith and without molestation under the forms of law.

5. The Convention should demand of the Northern States that they should suppress the abolition agitation, on the ground that it endangers the public peace, and puts in jeopardy the friendly relations between these States.

States.

6. The Convention should demand, in behalf of the 5. The Convention should demand, in behalf of the South, perpetual exemption from future aggreeion.
7. The Convention should require our State Legislature to adopt such measures of legislation as are necessary to place the State in a condition of the most ample preparation to meet all consequences which a continued disregard of our rights by the North may force used in the continued disregard of our rights by the North may force.

tinued disregard of our rights by the North may force upon us.

"Let these propositions be distinctly propounded to the North for their solemn reflection, and to our sister Southern States for their cooperation and adoption. And let us invite the latter to send delegates to a Southern Congress, to meet in Milledgeville on the 4th of July, 1851—not to dissolve the Union, but to devise measures for their enforcement, with the view to preserve the rights of the South in the Union."

These waves my conjugue as to the proper course for

These were my opinions as to the proper course for Georgia to adopt in 1850. As far as they are applicable to the present crisis, I would advise their adoption now. Then I would say:

1. Let this Legislature call a Convention of the peo

ple, at such time and place as may be deemed mos convenient, to consider and determine what the State should do: and also, in the mean time, put the State in

should do; and also, in the mean time, put the State in a condition to meet any emergency.

2. Let that Convention reaffirm the "Georgia Platform" of 1859, and demand the repeal of all laws passed by any of the non-slaveholding States which obstruct the execution, in good faith, of the act of Congress, for the rendition of fugative slaves.

3. Let the Convention appeal to the Northern States to suppress by all legitimate measures the Slavery agitation, as subversive of the peace and fraternity between the States of this Union.

4. Let that Convention ask a consultation with the other Southern States, either in a Congress for that purpose, or in such other manner as may be best calculated to secure concert of action.

I repeat what I said in the letter alluded to:

"As to the means a Southern Congress ought to

"As to the means a Southern Congress ought to adopt to enforce@these propositions, it would be presumptions in me to venture a suggestion. I prefer rather to stand mute before the wisdom of its counsels and bow submissively to its decisions. I am willing to confide the interest, the honor, and right of the South in the hands of such a body, and sure I feel, that its proposition of the confidence representing as it would the particular terms of the confidence representing as it would the particular terms. in the hands of such a body, and sure I feel, that its moral influence, representing, as it would, the patriotism, the intelligence, and firm resolve of the South, would be potent to save the Union, and awaken the Northern States to the danger with which their misguided familicism has imperiled it."

I should hope that a firm and earnest appeal by the South to the Northern States would be heeded; that they would, under a sense of constitutional obligation, repeal their "Personal Liberty bills," and cease to hinder the surrender of furitive slaves. I repeat is

continued and persistent disregard of our rights, in this particular, by the non-slaveholding States, cannot and ought not to be submitted to. It is time for the South to demand exemption from the agitation of Slavery, from unjustifiable interference with our domestic peace and security, from further aggressions upon our rights, and the faithful observance by the Northern States of the reconstruction of the Constitution. and the faithful observance by the Northern States of the requirements and guaranties of the Constitution. Let the business of redress be begun now and prosecuted to a final consummation. Let every effort be made used every means be exhausted to restore the Union back to what it was intended to be by its founders. If we fail in this, which I will not anticipate, then the interest, rights, peace and honor of the South will require a dissolution of the Union.

Thanking you, gentissien, for the complimentary terms of your note, I am, truly and faithfully, your obscisent servant.

HERSCHELV. JOHNSON.

Messra. Geo. A. Hall, Thos. F. Jones, and many others.

A NEW TESTIMONY FROM MR. MADISON From The National Intelligencer.

The views of Mr. Madison against the assumed right of secession are so well known, and were so consistently maintained from the date of the ratification of the Constitution down to the time of his death, that nothing is needed to add to the authority of his great name on this question. As cumulative evidence on this point, however, is valuable, because proceeding from one justly called the "Father of the Constitution," we give place to the subjoined reiteration of his opinion, which has just met our eye in the columns of our intelligent cotemporary, The Charlottesville (Va.) Review

of yesterday, the 23d instant: Sion.

We are indebted to our friend, Alexander Rives, esq., or the following letter from Mr. Madison on the sub-

ect of State Secession: In 1852 Mr. Rives, under the signature of "A Friend of Union and State-Kights," published two communications in The Virginia (Charlotteeville) Advocate.

The letter of Mr. Madison was called forth by these his nom de plume. It bears no date, but a letter from Mr. Rives in reply to it in our possession, is dated Jan. 7, 1833. We publish verbatim from the MS.:

I have received the letter signed "A Friend of Union and State-Rights," enclosing two besays under the same signature. It is not usual to answer communications without the proper names to them. But the ability and the motives disclosed in the Essays indoce me to say, in compliance with the wish expressed, that I do not consider the proceedings of Virginia in '50-52 as countenancing the decrime that a state may at will second from its constitutional compact with the other States. A rightful second requires the consent of the others, or an above the other states.

pact absolving the seceeding party from the obligations imposed by it.

In order to understand the reasoning on one side of a question, it is necessary to keep in view the precise state of the question and the positions and arguments on the other side. This is par-ricularly necessary in questions arising from our novel and com-pound system of government. Much error and confusion have rown out of a neglect of this precaution.

The case of the alien and sedition ants was a question between the government and the constituent body. Virginia maxing an ap-peal to the latter against the assumption of power by the former. The case of a claim in a State to accorde from its union with he others is question among the States themselves as parties of a compact.

there is a question among the brace compact.

the former case it was asserted against Virginis that the

In the former case it was successful and the former cases and no right to interpose legislative deciarations of optimous a constitutional point; nor a right to interpose at all gainst a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, hich was to be regarded as a tribunal from which there could a no appeal.

The object of Virginia was to vindicate legislative declarations.

which was to be regarded as a tribunal from which there could be no appeal.

The object of Virginia was to vindicate legislative declarations of opinion; to designate the several constitutional modes of interposition by the States against abuses of power, and to establish the ultimate authority of the States as purface to and creation the ultimate authority of the States as purface to and creation by the Constitution to interpose against the decisions of the pudicials well as the other brauches of the Covernment—the authority of the judicial being in no sense altowate, out of the purview and form of the Constitution.

Much use has been made of the term "respective" in the third resolution of Virginia, which asserts the right of the Natice, in cases of sufficient magnitude, to interpose "for maintaining within their respective" interposes "for maintaining within their respective" interposes "for maintaining within their respective" being constituted to mean a constitutional right in each State, sperusiely, to decide on and resist by force encroachments within its limits. A foresight or apprehension of the misconstruction might easily have guarded against it. But, to say anything of the distinction between ordinary and extreme cases, it is observable that in this, as in other instances throughout the resolutions, the plural number (States, is used in referring to them, that is connected and cooperation of all might well be contomptated in interpositions for effecting the objects within reach; and that the language of the clasing resolution sourcesponds with this view of the third. The course of reasoning in the report on the resolutions required the distinction between a State and the States.

It surely does not foliow from the fact of the States, or rather the people embodied in them, having, as parties to the constitutional compact, not ribunal above them, that, in controverted mennings of the compact, and as fitted that it can stall withdraw itself altogether from its compact with the res.

The characteristic

I ought not to omit my regret that in the remark on Mr. Jefferson and myself the names had not been transposed.

Having many reasons for marking this letter confideratial, I must request that its publicity may not be permitted in any mode or through any channel. Among the reasons is the risk of mispreheadous or misconstructions, so common, without more attention and development than I could conveniently bestow on what is said.

With respect, JAMES MADISON.

Wishing to be assured that the letter has not miscarried, a single line acknowledging its receipt will be acceptable.

[Some persons might conclude from the statement in the beginning of this letter, "A rightful accession requires the consent of the others," &c., that Mr. Madison recognized in an extreme case the abstract right of secretion now claimed by South Carolina. But, by reference to his letter of March, 1833, to Mr. Webster, it will be seen that be there attack that "the right of secretion."

seceding for intolerable oppression is unother name

AMOS KENDALL ON SECESSION.

From The Wachington Stor.

SECESSION—NO. IV.

TICS OF SECESSION ARGUMENTS—SOVERRIGST!

NOT INDIVISIBLE NOR INTEREST—INDEPENDENT

STATES CAN MERGE OR SURENDER THER SOVEREIGNT! IN WHOLE OR IN PART—IN TIPLE COUNTY. THE IT HAS BEEN DIVIDED, A PORTION TRANS-FERRED TO THE UNITED STATES, AND A PORTION LEFT IN THE STATES-MR. MADISON'S VIEWS.

To the Prople of the South:

Secessionists maintain that each of the United States retains all its original sovereignty; that the United States possess no sovereign power; that their government is a mere agency for the States; that any of the States may at will dismiss this agent, and thus relieve its people from all obligation to submit to its Constitution and laws. One for demental residing assumed by and laws. One fundamental position assumed by secessionists is that "SOVERRIGHTY IS INCAPABLE

If this be true, how happens it that there is more than one evversionly in the world!

Old Adam, we suppose, was the first soversion, and if sovereignty is incapable of division," how happens it that there are so many soversions among his descendants! If this position be sound, there is now but one sovereignty on earth, and that is vested in all mankind as one consolidated mass. South Carolina has been in rebellion against this "one and indivisible" sovereignty since 1776 at least.

rebellion against this "one and indivisible" sovereignty since 1776 at least.

How came South Carolina to have any sovereignty at all? She formed a part of the British Empire, whose sovereignty, according to this argument, or assumption, rather, was and is "indivisible." She is, therefore, still a part of the British Empire, though in a state of rebellion, and ought to return to her allegiance. But if they mean that the sovereignty of any one nation cannot be divided, the position is equally absurd, as we shall hereafter show.

It is another fundamental position of secessionists, that "Sovereignty is inherent;" Inherent in

SOVEREIGNTY IS INHERENT." Inherent in Soccession answers, In the States. But how what? Seccession answers, in the States. But how did it get into the States? Surely, they were not sovereign while they formed parts of the British Empire. They then had no "inherent" sovereignty. Did the Declaration of Independence make them Sovereign? That was the net of Congress. If that gave them sovereignty they derived it from their own creature, and Congress must have been Sovereign before they could Congress must have been Sovereign before they could impart that quality to their constituents. That sover-eignty was inherent in Congress, nobody pretends; to eighty was inherent in Congress, nobody pretends; to say that it was inherent in the colonies while parts of the British Empire, is absurd; and if it be "indivisi-ble" and "inherent," pray where did they get it, and when did it begin to be inherent? And what be-came of the "indivisible" sovereighty of the British Empire when it was divided into twelve or thirteen in-

erent. It has been divided and subdivided, acquired and lost, restricted and enlarged times without number and by various means, during the world's history.

But, without caring how or where the States get their sovereigns in 1776, but we maintain that they were sovereigns in 1776, but we maintain that they could and did modify their own sovereignty in the adoption of the Constitution. Can any one doubt that the research of such State, if they had been so minded. adoption of the Constitution. Can any one donot have the people of each State, if they had been so minded, could have united with the people of all the other States and formed a consolidated Government; that all their sovereignties could have been merged into one sovereignty, and that the States could thus have been extinguished? The history of the world is full of expoles of two or more natious being merged into one and of one divided into two or more; of sover-lost by conquest or by voluntary surrender, and regnty acquired by rebellion or voluntary association. To say that a State cannot surrender or merge her own sovereignty, is to deny the existence of sovereignty itself; for how can a state be sovereign which cannot be something the sovereign which is something the source of sovereign which is some itself; for how can a state be sovereign which cannot dispose of herself? And if a State can merge her enter sovereignty in that of other States, cannot she merge a part and retain a part? To say that she cannot, is also to deny her sovereignty; for sovereignty according to secession logic, possesses all political power, while by the same logic, it cannot divide itself, and therefore does not possess all political power! The argument is a felo de se—it destroys itself.

When the Secessionists say that sovereign power cannot be invested in the foregrament of the United

not be invested in the Government of the United States, they utter a truth which is equally applicable to the Governments of the States. Both Governments States, they utter a truth which is equally applicable to the Governments of the States. Both Governments are agents in the same sense, and both of them are governments in the same sense. What is a State! The people composing it. What is the United States! The people composing them in the sense of the Constitution where it says, "We, the people of the United States." The grants of the Constitution are to the United States, meaning the people thereof, and not to their government. The powers reserved in the Constitution are reserved to the States, meaning the people of the States, not their governments. When the Constitution says there is such a thing as "the people of the United States," there must be such a people in some sense, and in that people is vested and merged the sovereignty of of the people of the States, so far and so far only as it covers the powers granted in the Constitution. In reference to all their reserved powers, the people of the States remain as sovereign and independent as they were in 1776.

If I had entertained a doubt of the correctness of my

Were in 1776.

If I had entertained a doubt of the correctness of my own views on this subject, it would have been obvi-ated by the following lucid and manawerable exposi-tion I have recently met in one of Mr. Madison's let-

ters, viz:
 'In order to understand the true character of the Con-

pacities.
1. It was formed, not by the Governments of the componen

which formed the State Constitutions.

Heing thus derived from the same source as the Constitutions of the States; in has, within each State, the same authority as the Constitution of the State; and is as much a Constitution, in the strict sense of the term, within its prescribed sphere, as the Constitutions of the States are, within their respective spheres; but with this obvious and essential difference, that being a compact among the States in their highest severeign capacity, and constituting the people thereof one people for certain purposes, it cannot be altered or annulled at the will of the States individually, as the Constitution of a State may be at its individual will.

"2. And that it divides the supreme powers of Government, between the Government of the United States and the Government.

ederation, " while it is neither the one nor the other on to consider it a mere confederation: it is the creed of Jeffersonian and Madisonian Republicanism that it is "neither the one nor the other, but a mixture of

In another number I shall show the utter incompati bility of Secession arguments with the language as substance of the Constitution. Amos KENDALL.

MOVEMENTS IN TEXAS.

MOVEMENTS IN TEXAS.

The following preamble, resolutions, and address to Gov. Houston have been adopted by a meeting of the citizens of Galveston:

Whereas, The Electoral vote of the Northern States will be cost in favor of the dectrine of the "irrepressible condict," and

Whereas. The Electoral vote of the Northern States will be cost in favor of the doctrine of the "irrepressible condict," and for the avowed advocates of that doctrine. Lincoln and Hamlin, the first of whom has selemnly declared that this Government cannot last as it now stands—it must be all free or all siave: the other, delying the Supreme Court, says that the Constitution "meither recognizes Slavery as property, nor does it protect slaves." And as it is apparent that this war, so long waged against the institutions of the slaveholding States, will continue in the Union, and that there can neither be peace nor safety to the slaveholders while it is carried on; therefore,

Resolved, That Tuxas, as a sovereign and coequal State of this Union, cannot and will not submit to the threatened degradation fore-shadowed by the triumph of Black Republican principles in the election of Lincoln and Hamlin. In the election of Lincoln and Hamlin. In the election of Lincoln and Islamlin. In the election of Lincoln and Islamlin, which is the election of Lincoln and Islamlin. In the election of Lincoln and Islamlin, which is the investigation of the secretion of Lincoln and Islamlin. In the election of Lincoln and Islamlin, which is the investigation of the summary ensuing from sectional dictation. Sorrowing for the mistahs which she had committed in secretioning her independence at the aliar of her patriotium, she will unfurl the banner of the Lone Star to the precedence and resulter upon a mational career where. If no glory awaits her, he will at least be free from subjection by might to wrong and shame.

Resolved, That a union with the Northern States, ander Black Republican principles and rule, cannot be submitted to without loss of said respect and the good opinion of the world; the Union loss of said respect and the good opinion of the world; the Union loss of said respect and the good opinion of the world; the Union loss of said respect and the good opinion of the world; the Union loss of said respect and the good opinio

To His Excellency Sew Houston, Generater of the State of Toxase. The Constitution of our State empowers the Governor to convene special sessions of the Legislature "on extraordinary occasions," and the undersigned memorialists, would respectfully represent to your Excellency, that in their equinon, and as they believe, in the opinion of almost all their fellow-citizens of the State, no more "extraordinary occasion" could occur in her history than that which now impends over her, in common with her sister States of the State, to write the election and the intended imaguration of a President, by a party whose distinctive principle is hattest to the institutions of the Southern States, and whose pistform pledges the Administration which they are about to inaugurate to a systematic aggreesion upon those institutions, under the forms of the Constitution, if that he practicable, or in defiance of that saved instrument, if such he necessary to their purpose.

On an occasion so "extraordinary" we think that the Executive should, and we therefore respectfully pray, that his Excellency, the Governor, will at the earliest practical day, into later than the 8th day of January next, convene the Legislature of the State, to deliberate upon the grave and momentous issues that force themselves upon us, and to provide such remove for existing and impending evils, as so their mitted wisher may even just and proper, and your memoralisto will ever pray, &c.

EXTRACT PROM A PRIVATE LETTER.

EXTRACT FROM A PRIVATE LETTER.

"Columbia, S. C., Nov. 21, 1860.

There are stirring time in South Carolina just now. I do certainly think that the ministers, judges, and the people are running out of their senses, or their senses, if they ever had any, are running out of them. If ever there were a people on the face of this earth who were blinded to their own interests, the people of South Carolina are. They seem to think that if they were only out of the Union, all would be well with them. I very often say to myself (for I dare not say it to sanybody clise). 'If your bank bills are now at ten per cent discount, how will you be able to raise money to pay and equip an army, for a standing army you must have?' But an army is only one item of the expense of a Government; and if their port is to be a free port of entry, from what source will the revenue come? It is foolish and absurd that the people of the State would suffer themselves to be taxed to pay all the expenses of the Government. If a true vote on the question could be taken, the majority of the people of South Carolina would refuse to go out of the Union. But the political orators and madmen who are going through the State will misrepresent things to the ignorant in the country, and it may be that they will vote themselves cut of the Federal Government. I do not know anything about the character of Lincoln, but I do hope that he is a man of nerve and true courage. If he is not, it will be of no use for him to take hold of the rein or helm of State. It is very evident to my mind that either Freedom or Slavery will now triamph. The political leaders of the South will not let the excitement die away until something definite is accomplished. The Slave Power will frighten those who advocate Freedom into submission, or Freedom will strike terror into the heart of Slavery. Which power, do you think, will, on the 4th of March, '61, triumph?' Nothing but fire and death will bring the Slave Power to their senses. It is said that the South can force the North inte

A SOUTHERN SERMON.

ARE THESE HIS DOINGS?

A Sermon, preached in St. Michael's Church, Charleston, S. C., on the day of Public Prayer, Wednesday Nov. 21, 1860, by the Rev. James H. Elliott.

Mical if 7.—Are these His doings! Heavily and sadly must such a question as this fall upon the spirit of a man while contemplating the mis-eries of his race. Around him are strewed wrecks of happiness, individual and domestic, which press upon his heart in all the bitterness of personal grief; and the records of history present to him pictures of nation were and desolation, ever recurring from age to age a from continent to continent, wherein the same painfu features are repeated upon a more gigantic scale.

The future historian may tell of a great Republic of

The future historian may tell of a great Republic of Confederated States which for seventy years was the wonder, the envy, and the joy of the civilized world; the refuge of the oppressed and the dread of tyrants. He may describe its rapid progress in population, wealth and power; the peace, security, and confraternity of its several members; their disdain of foreign aggression and freedom from civil strife—their rapid expansion from one great ocean to another—their natural and easy incorporation of State after State into the ever-widening system of oceaual Sovereignties the ever-widening system of cocqual Sovereignties and then, perhaps, it will fall to his lot to narrate the strange catastrophe which ensued. He will go back some few years, and describe the slow and fatal growth of a senseless and arrogant fanaticism, which, from a beginning not much larger than a man's hand, swelled portentous shapes of overshadowing ruin, and d within its insatiable vortex all sense of justice sucked within its insatiable vortex all sense of justice and all regard for law; and then, big with its elements of discord and hate, burst upon a great and happy land with the sweep and desolation of a whirlwind. He may have to tell of section arrayed against section, and State against State, in interaccine war—of sons wrestling in mortal hate whose sires had battled side by side, and mingled their blood in defense of a comby side, and mingled their blood in defense of a com-mon liberty—of great commercial and manufacturing systems toppling to the earth—of servile hordes and starving mobs asserting a liberty they knew not how to use, and the right of life sgainet the right of property; and then mutual exhaustion but unappeased hate, to end, perhaps, in military despotisms, armed to the teeth and eyeing each other with the vindictive scowl of susticion and revenge. Some future Thucy-dides or Gibbon may have it to tell how the cry of re-State to State, were the first signals of a revolution to whose horrors the world's experience could hardly produce a parallel. Therefore, we should not allow ourselves to look at this great crisis in any other but a ourselves to look at this great crisis in any other but a most solemn spirit, for it is, assuredly, a great crisis. Our fortunes, lives, institutions—all we hold dear on earth—are in jeopardy. We have staked them upon the issue of this controversy, and a single false move upon our part, a single mexpected turn in the providential arrangements of Him who holds the fate of nations in his hands, and we may be awallowed up in a bankruptcy as deep and irretrievable as ever fell upon a records. It was therefore a deaent and wise determine bankruptcy as deep and irretrievable as ever fell upon a people. It was therefore a desent and wise determination upon the part of our Legislature that a day should be set apart for devotional services of an extraordinary character, and our people be invited to unite in supplicating, with humiliation, fasting and prayer, the guidance and succor of Almighty God. If ever men stood in need of help of an Omnipotent arm, we are the men, for we should not conceal it from ourselves that upon the great question involved we have not only the fataticism of the North, but the sentiment of Europe arrayed against us, and that our enemies may find the means of our destruction within our own bosom. This last consideration, while it renders action necessary, makes it also dangerous, and it is incumbent upon us to weigh well also every step we take in our on-ward progress.

ward progress.

My object, however, this morning is not to inter-My object, however, this morning is not to interfere with the business of the politician and statesman, nor is it to terrify men from a course to which they are called alike by every consideration of safety and honor; it is to beg that you will do your part in the proper observance of this solemn fast. Look not upon it as a thing of form, but as a reality, and humble yourselves before God in repentance and faith. In the mrin we may be right, and yet there may be many points upon which we have laid ourselves open to the rebuke of the Ahmighty. We may also see before us a secure haven and a glorious escape out of all our present dangers, but it is only His arm which can insure our reaching it. In the sense in which I am now sure our reaching it. In the sense in which I am now regarding the evils that surround us they are not His sure our reaching it. In the sense in which I am now regarding the evils that surround us they are not this doings, and I trust we may with justice add, they are not our doings, and yet we are never so guiltless as to leave God without justification in punishing us. If we have forme ourselves too haughtily in this long strite, which is now come to its decision: if we have repeiled aggreesion with too much pride, and repaid insult with violence: if we have left angulation and the with ourselves we are protecting from the insane folly of our adversaries; if we have allowed abuses and oppressions which should have been checked by the strong hand of the law, and the stern rebuke of a righteous public opinion: I say, if we have done these things, left these things undone, failed so far in our duty toward God and our fellow beings—and who can lay his hand upon his heart, and say that we have not—then is it our part to humble correctives before God as sincere penitents, acknowledge the justice of His dealings, and deprecate His anger. It is not to our sins in general that we should direct our attention at this juncture, but to our sins in particular—in the special relation of our ocial hifs, which is endangered, and through which and on account of which this evil has come upon us. That our accneers are willfully and dishonestly blind does not prove us blameless, and the danger is that along with our rightnous condemnation of their aggree-lone and indignant regulation of the regulation of their aggree-lone and indignant regulation of the regulation of their aggree-lone and indignant regulation of the regulation of th along with our righteous condemnation of their ag gree-ions and indignant repudiation of their aspersions there may mingle a tone of self-justification and there may mingle a tone of self-justification and a spirit of self-complacency altogether unwarranted. This day will be well and prointably spent if along with prayer for guidance and help, for succor and defense, we also examine ourselves carefully as to the manner in which we have discharged our duties as masters, and our obligations as law-givers toward the race which Providence has placed under our charge; and this examination should be accompanied with a full purpose of amendment, whereinsoever we find ourselves to have offended. It is vain to talk of rentance where there is no honest atmission of blame ourserves to have offended. It is vain to talk of re-pentance where there is no honest admission of blame—worthiness, and no fixed resolution of reformation—for these enter into its very essence; and though we may essure present dancers, through the good Providence

bidding, from quarters totally unexpected. It is not cotton, as many seem to think, or even courage, or that upon which we especially pride ourselves—a chivalrous tone of feeling; but righteousness that exalteth a nation, and the nation which cannot truly appeal to the Searcher of hearts, of its willingness to do justice to all within and without its borders, whether weak er strong, bond or free, will, sooner or later, fall first into sin and then into evil. We may escape the hand of many, but we cannot clode the judgment of God. Still it is the ground of sincere satisfaction and one

God.

Still it is the ground of sincere satisfaction and one from which we may draw no small succuragement, that in the main we are right. Whatever may be our deficiencies, as individuals or as States, we can have no hesitation in pronouncing the intermediling of others an warrantable—their claims presumptuous—and their remedies totally inadmissible. We believe, too, that things have come to that point when their fanatical designs must be resisted at every heard. War, my bretheren, is a dreafful evil, and even the possibility of such a war as we may shortly be engaged in, is enough to make the bravest shudder—and yet there are things worse than war. There are occasions when it becomes necessary for a people to look in the face, reckor calmly upon its possibility, and endure its dreadful evils, and I believe in my immost heart that such an occasion is presented to these Southern States at this very time. Upon this point there is hardly any division or difference even of opinion among us. Not that we seek it, not that we look upon it as necessarily following upon any action of ours, still less as justified by that action, but we regard it as a consequence which may flow out of it, and we are prepared to meet even this in dependence upon the help of God. This is our position, but not a position to be maintained without some higher inepiration than that which comes of noisy declamation and passionate resolves. Should we be plunged into the horrors of civil strife, we shall need all the patience and all the stern determination that a sense of right and a steady, unfaltering trust in God can afford. tion and passionate resolves. Should we be plunged into the horrors of civil strife, we shall need all the patience and all the stern determination that a sense of right and a steady, unfaltering trust in God cas afford. Let us do nothing which can invalidate the former, and et us pray earnestly for the latter. If it pleases the Almighty to try us, to put our courage, our patience, our endurance to the test, let usimplore Him that we may come forth from the furnace purified by adversity, that our faith may be upheld, and our course approved in His sight; and if He should prosper our way and blees our counsels, that we may wear our honors neekly, in a spirit far removed from vain glorious beasting or insolent triumph. Thus acting and thus feeling, we may fail, but we will not be dishonored. We may be overthrown, but cannot be "forever fallen."

Another caution seems appropriate to the present crisis. The course we are pursuing, necessary for our own preservation, may, and doubtless will, inflict great distress upon those who have forced us to it. Already we hear the matterings of that commercial revulsion which is almost sure to follow the withdrawal of the Southern States from the Confederacy. Should it come, its weight will fall chiefly upon that section which has been built up at our expense. A sentiment to be indulged. It must happen that the innocent will be involved with the guilty. Many will be engulphed in the ruin who have had no share in bringing it about—many will suffer who have striven in valo

to be indulged. It must happen that the innocent will be involved with the guilty. Many will be engulphed in the run who have had no share in bringing it about—many will suffer who have striven in vaid against the overwhelming tide of fanatical aggression by which they were overborne. We cannot help it; but it is not a thing to be hailed with exultation—it is not a spectacle at which we should point the finger of scorn and say, "There! there! so would we have it!" That such a feeling is already too predominant among us—that it pervades our conversation, our public prints and our speeches, is too apparent to be denied. But be assured it is wrong; and be assured; if indulged in, God will be provoked to turn our rejoicings into mourning—our triumphs be assured, if indulged in, God will be provoked to turn our rejoicings into mourning—our triumphs into defeat. Let us thank His good Providence which has furnished the South with a means of defense as peaceful as it is strong—a product which renders us independent of any single nation, simply because it renders all civilized communities dependent upon us. Wielding such a power, if we but wield it wisely, we may achieve a victory both bloodless and complete. It is for the interest of the world that we should be at peace; that our system of labor should be undisturbed; that our institutions, much as they are reviled, should be maintained; and sooner or later this will be so manifest as to compel an unwilling acquisescence even from those who are most aggrisved by our policy. The South has only to be firm and united, and she will soon be independent of any connection but such as she chooses herself to form. Conscious of her strength, she should use it with forbearance, inflicting upon her assailants no further injury than is required for her own defense, and prepared again to knit the bonds of friendly intercourse so soon as her political and commercial independence has been vindicated. To this end, we should therefore a spirit of Christian forbearance, even toward those who have shown us least, and strive to render our controversy with the North as little exasperated as possible. Although we may not live longer under the same Government, our destiny has ordained that we shall be contiguous people, with unlimited ability to harm and even destroy each other; and our future relations must be very much influenced by the manner in which this great Union other; and our future relations must be very other; and our future realizing must be very most influenced by the manner in which this great Union shall be dissolved. Let us pray then, brethren, that its dissolution may be a peaceful one, and that there be no blood shed between those who once were brethren in feeling, and still are brethren in race and religion. Such a severance will afford to the world as grand and instructive a lesson of the ben efits of self-government, as any which it has learned from our rapid growth in all the elements of prosperity and the arts of peace. True, we cannot adopt the generous language of the noble-minded Abraham in all its expansive liberality, and say to our Northern brethren, "The whole land is before you—if ye will brethren, "The whole land is before you—if ye will take the left hand then we will go to the right, or if ye depart to the right hand then we will go the left, only God who divideth to the nations their inher ance, both already allotted to them and to us the boun of our habitation; but we can say, "Let there be strife, we pray you, between our labor and your lab of our habitation; but we can say, "Let there be no strife, we pray you, between our labor and your labor—each has its advantages, each is adapted to the sphere which it occupies, and would be unnatural and impossible if transferred to the other. The irrepressible conflict of which you speak is not called for, and can only issue in the ruin of both. Separated, our peace will be preserved and our brotherly affections may revive in the interchanges of commerce, and in the sense of mutual benefit. Each will work out its own destury in its own way and the only rivalry between us will be its own way, and the only rivalry between as will be as to which will most promote the happiness of man kind, and which will do most toward spreading abroac among the nations of the earth, the knowledge of Goo and the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ." God, in his mercy, grant that such may be the spirit, and such the end of the great revolution which is now at hand.

MINOR ITEMS.

From The Charleston Courier, 23d.

One of the most agreeable, lively and well-sustained One of the most agreeable, lively and well-sustained, entertainments, of a social nature, entirely extempore and impromptu, which it has been our privilege to enjoy, occurred on Wednasday in the Saloon of the popular steamship Columbia, and under the Palmetto flag and fifteen stars ensign of Commodore M. Berry.

It was known to some friends of the Hon. Lawrence M. Keitt that he was expected to visit the Columbia about noon, partly at his own desirs and partly instiguted by a pressing invitation from Capt. Berry, and by the fact that a good lunch was no rarity in that whip.

by the fact that a good lunch was no rarity in that ship.

Several gentlemen, friends of both parties, determined to see and share this visit, relying on Capt. Berry's known good nature, gonerseity, and hospitality—be being one of the sort of men that Cæsat desired, and not of your lean and hungry Cassins tribe—and relying, also, on the well-known elasticity and stretching qualities of the steward's arrangements, and the tables in the salcon of the Colambia.

A very bountiful and varied collation was soon spread before the guests, but the chief charm of the entertainment, which was unconsciously prolonged to twilight, was found in the social converse and ittellectual exchange. Speeches of the "cut and dried" order were out of order, and were not even attempted; but speaking was lively and varied, and the tone and temper and spirit of the running debates forcibly reminded speaking was hvaly and variet, and the tote and temper and spirit of the running debates forcibly reminded one of Congress, barring only the elements of dailness and vulgarity, new too common in Congress. Interruptions were frequent, and generally elicited happy retorts or repartees. It is impossible to give even an outline sketch of such an occasion, and the consideration free to a strictly social and informal occasion for-

we may remark, however, that B. R. Carroll, esq.

We may remark, however, that B. R. Carroll, esq., and "Governor" A. H. Prown were among the prominent epockers, and whether one or the other bore off the palm, it was decided manimously by the delighted particly ants that each equaled or excelled himself.

Our esteemed and useful Chaplain and friend andy monitor of sailors and sugoing men, was also present, and will not soon forget the "Monament" story.

W. F. Dodge, esq., who was one of the party, had deliberately armed himself with an innocent-looking weapon, which externally was a cane, but intervally a rifle of tried power and range. He desired to bestow one of the rifle-canes on the Hon. L. M. Keitt, as a token of admiration and approval of his gallant services generally, of his able and stirring speech of Tuesday evening, and of his devoted and confidential friendship with the lamented Preston S. Brecks. At the special request of Mr. Dodge, B. R. Carroll, esq., at very short notice, undertook to present the cane, and discharged that commission with remarkable success.

So well pleased were all the hearers with Mr. Carroll's remarks of presentation, that Mr. Dodge insisted on giving him a complimentary fee in the shape of a rine case.

Mr. Keitt had no notice whatever of the intention of God, yet other evils will rise up against us, at His

of this presentation, but the gallant representative of

"Old Crange" is not the man likely to be taken at a

disadvantage or by surprise.

He made a most acceptable reply, and gave some in cidents and recollections of Congressional life and observations, which were new and interesting is all present, and would have cotertained the largest GOV. MOORE TO THE BAPTIST CONVENTION

Some days ago we published the resolutions adopted by the Baptist Convention of Alabama, and transmit ted to Gov. Moore. The following is his letter se-

knowledging the receipt of these;

EXECUTIVE DEFORTMENT, Nov. 16, 1869.

REV. I. T. TICHENOR—DEST Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the declaration of opinions adopted by the Baptist State Convention of Alabama.

ions adopted by the Baptist State Convention of Alabana.

I fully agree with the Convention in the opinion that "from the administration of the Pederal Government (Lincoln's) as things are—with reference to our peculiar property recognized by the Constitution—we can no longer kepe for justice, presection, or safety."

I thank the Convention in my own name, and is the name of the great and sovereign State of Alabama, for the patrictic sentiments contained in their proceedings, and for the appropriate, dignified and Christian fearmanner in which they are expressed. Such noble continents, entanting unanamously, from an assembly of Christian men, will carry with them a moral force and power that will do mach good in Alabama, in her present emergency, and will serve to convince the Aboltionists that the same canese which dissolved the union of the two Churches, North and South, will, have a similar effect upon the Union of States.

With great respect, your obedient server.

A. B. MOORE.

SOUTH CAROLINA BAPTISTS. The "Savannah River Baptist Convention" un

The "Sevannah River Baptist Convention" manipulations to the following resolutions:

Wherear The sectional feeling which lately split in twain the bonds that united us with the North in Caristian communications as a sure indication that those who could not live together as a Church could scarcely continue in political union; and estreas, the late election of a sectional President, upon the same primaring in and whereas, our beloved State has called a Convention of the people, to consummate, by constitutional forms, the disunter which has virtually separated the peoples of the South: therefore, Resolved, That it is our duty, as Christian gentlemen and patriots, to sustain our believed State, at all hazards, in the materiance of her sovereignty, and in the protection of her constitutional rights and liberty.

Resolved, That in making this declaration, we speak only for ourselves, and trust in the good God to give us strength, courage, and endurance, to maintain the right.

CALEB CUSHING'S BARK.

CALEB CUSHING'S BARK. The Charleston News of the 23d says of the back

James Gray:
"This fine vessel, under the command of her glori "This fine vessel, under the command of her glori-ous little Captain, departed vesterday for Liverpool. It will be romembered that this craft is the property of Cushing & Brothers, and was the first vessel to raise the Pulmetto flag, as she did amid a salute of cannon, the Palmetto fing, as she did anad a sainte of cannon, and the cheers of an immense concourse of persons. The ladies of the city, are going to present the Hon. Caleb Cushing, with a neat likeness of the James Gray in silver, which we hope will be finished by the return of Capt. Plummer, and while we speak of this, we would suggest the putting of subscription lists in stores in King street, and other places where ladies most do congregate.

A JAIL BANNER.

most do congregate."

A Charleston paper of the 23d says:
Mr. John T. Milligan, the District Jailor, will unfur! to-day a very fit banner for the place and occasion. It consists of a white field, seven by five feet square, with a perpendicular line of division drawn through the center. On the section furthest from the building is a large star with a circle in the center. Within this circle is a Palmetto tree, over which is the word "Secession." On each side are two blue stars, and beneath the words "All Aboard." Above this star, on the right, is a Crescent, on the left of which is written, "Resistance to Tyrants is obedience to God."

The section nearest the jail represent Abe Lincola, manaled, being borne by two huge Africans, on a rail, each negro having a firebrand in one hand, while the other supports the rail. Opposite this is a policeman directing him to the juil, and pointing thence with his club. Beside the policeman are the words, "Rail-"splitter Wanted." On the ground beneath Old Abe is a log, maul, and axe, which he was in the ast of availing himself of when he was taken up by the darkies. The stanza above this,

ice. The stanza above this,

"Old Abe in company is found,
Which justifies his being bound;
And so in chains, astride a rail,
He's borne triumphantly to—the White House."
at he picture. completes the picture.

HINTS TO SOUTH CAROLINA WOMEN.

Under the above heading, a woman writes thus te

Under the above heading, a woman writes thus to the editor of The Charleston Mercury:

In the mean time our men—I have said:
What are our women doing? Talking of fight—giving bouquets, wreaths, and banners with mottos and good wishes—some of us scribbling for newspapers—all of us saying, "God speed" to the great cause! But, sisters and daughters, is this enough? Empty words! empty words!—enn you give—no more? The heartless braggart may talk it out as plausibly as the best; but bragging is not doing. Woman, will you send your son, your husband, and your bother—are you, pretty maiden, your lover—to the fight, giving him a wreath, or a mottoed flag, and then lie down to sleep? Nay, nay, you cannot—you dare not. When that time comes the midnight hour will find you watching—the dawning day will wake upon your unclosed. ing—the dawning day will wake upon your unclose eyes. And then, to still the anxious throbbings of watching heart—sisters believe me—we will want something beside the recollectious of wreaths and bouquets, mottes and newspaper articles. These are well enough in their way, and in their time, when backed by earnest effort. But spare us the mockery of them if these healthman watching heart-eisters believe me-we wil

well enough in their way, and in their time, whos backed by earnest effort. But spare us the mockery of them if these be all we can do.

We have all heard the story of Nero fiddling while Rome was burning. Day after day, as I see our wemen fresh-rigged with the frippery of the season—new bonnets, new laces, new flounces, and furbelows—day after day, as I hear of their frequenting Yankze shows, opens, and concert-singers, I remember Nere; and, shuddering, wonder if these, his petiticoated imitators, can be South Carolina women. Forgive me, sisters, the harsh thought. We have sinned—we have sinned; but, as yet, it has been in thoughtlese ignorance, rather than heartlese folly. Let us now wake up to better things. A great free people must have true-hearted, whole-souled womer. Nothing has of late years marked more the rottennesse at heart of this Union of States, now falling to pieces from its festering iniquities, than the follins of its wemen. Fast ladies have we had, woman's rights ladies; ladies who must have new silk dresses to sweep the streets though the husband break or the children starve for it; girls who must spend on the wardrobe of one what thirty years since would have supported a family, thus driving fathers and brothers to defaloations, frands, and perjury; mothers who find no better lessons for their daughters than midnight balls, ending only with daylight—sine-light life, where heart and soul are crushed under timed. Let our men believe it, and teach our women so; the broken-down devotee of fashion, with her train of prematurely withering daughters, has left to berself and them nothing that can render them fitting mothers and wives for freemen. We, at the South, have only partially fallen into this can render them fitting mothers and wives for freemen We, at the South, have only partially fallen into the career of folly, and our now enacting revolution (for it is upon us) may save us from our down-bill course.

OPINION OF THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

From The Southern Standard, Treaton, Tran. SOUTH CAROLINA.—This fountain-head of tories, nullifiers, rebels, hothcade, fools, and traitors has become the standard of Southern statesmen. It furnished the main body of tories in the Revolution. Then supported Aaron Burr for the Presidency instead of Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Judeperdence and founder of the Democratic party. The next characteristic step was to nallify the laws of Congressiand draw the sword against a Government presided over by such men as Jackson, Clay, and Webster. Ever since then the turbulent and disunion elements of the Covernment have made their headquarters in South Carolina.

ments of the Covernment have made their headquarters in South Carolina.

They were maddened when Calhoon failed to effect the fell scheme of secretion, and have ever since made their patriotism subscrivent to revenge. The State has no cause for complaint. No slave can escape from her far southers borders. The turiff pays the expenses of the Federal Government, and there is nothing lacking but to keep up a State Government to her liking. The Federal Government, then, does not lay the weight of its little finger upon her, but has to endure her Congressmen who swim in whisky and bully all Washington.

The truth is that South Carolina never had a scientific of wiedom, moderation, or conservation, and has now:

The truth is that South Carolina never had a crossilla-of wicdom, moderation, or conservation, and has now become completely deranged.

We love Tennessee and Kentucky. Taeir bannesse have floated ever every battle-field in triumph and gla-ry, and never did either utter a sentimeat disloyal be-the Union. Their citizens are noble and patriotic, and have ever delighted to honor such mon as Clay and Jackson.

Jackson.
Upon these men, even in her better days, South Car-Upon these men, even in her better days, South Carolina waged an uncessing and malicious war. What, then, shall we do in this hour of peral? Will Old Whigs abandon the teachings of Ciny, and veteran Democrats repudiate the maxims of Jackson, to worship at the shrine of South Carolina, just when her madness and revenge have reached the climax? We hear the answer from every hill-top and every valley-from every Whig and every Democrat coming to the conservative element of the other States, louder than seven peaks of thunder. No! never, while the past is remembered or true statesmanship has foothold in America I The border States bear the suffering and longer for this growth the longer will not her after losses to alting from the Union, and will not hear ate to repaidate the spurious guardianship and appeal to